THE THERMOPYLÆ OF AFRICA, KENYA COLONY

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THE THERMOPYLÆ OF AFRICA, KENYA COLONY.

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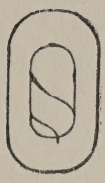
NAIROBI:
Printed and Published by
THE "EAST AFRICAN STANDARD," LTD.,
KENYA COLONY.
1923.



Under your pardon. You must note beside
That we have tried the utmost of our friends,
Our legions are brim-full, our cause is ripe;
The enemy increaseth every day;
We, at the height, are ready to decline.
There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.

—Julius Cæsar, Act IV., Sc. III.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The author of this memorandum desires to disclaim any pretension to thinking originally, and would acknowledge with gratitude the debt he owes to such far-seeing writers as Sir Charles Eliot, Admiral Mahan, Meredith Townsend, Professor Pearson, Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, Lionel Curtis, Dudley Kidd, Maurice Evans, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Frederick Lugard, Joseph Oldham, and many others. His endeavour has been to apply lessons learnt from them to the problems of Kenya Colony. In particular he wishes to express his gratitude to his friend, Mr. J. A. Watson of Nairobi, for many invaluable suggestions, and much assistance in many other ways.

There is one statement which he asks indulgence to put forward without argument or evidence.

We settlers of Kenya are not here to snatch quick wealth by mining gold or precious stones and then to quit. The Indian question for us is not primarily an economic one. Far from it; the humble Asiatic adds to the amenities of life.

Kenya to us is not merely a place in which to make a living. This land of mountains, forests, brooks and lakes takes a singularly strong hold upon the affections of its settlers. Our hearts are rooted in its soil. In it we have built our homes, and to us it is Home,—a thing to be defended at all costs.

E. P. C.

Mau Narok,
Elementeita, Kenya Colony.
April 27th, 1923.

It would be folly to ignore a factor so significant and vital as race, or in practical measures to leave out of account those vast accumulated and entrenched realities of emotion and conviction, of social instinct and historic tradition, which race implies.

J. H. OLDHAM,
The World and the Gospel, pp. 188-9.

Democratic ideals among an homogeneous population of Nordic blood, as in England and America, are one thing, but it is quite another for the white man to share his blood with, or intrust his ideals to, brown, yellow, black, or red men.

This is suicide pure and simple, and the first victim of this amazing folly will be the white man himself.

MADISON GRANT,
Introduction to *The Rising Tide of Colour*,
by Lothrop Stoddard, p. xxxii.

The growing insistence with which the political spokesmen of India are pressing for equality of status for Indians with white East Africans in Kenya Colony, and the active aid they are receiving from the Government of India, have compelled the white East Africans to strengthen their measures for the defence of White Supremacy in Africa.

The rising intensity of the struggle having attracted some attention in the United Kingdom and in the Dominions, the present seems an appropriate time to attempt to re-state the wide conceptions on which the White Case rests, and to dispel certain misjudgments of White East African policy.

Recent manifestations of the profound race restlessness of Asia, much intensified by the war, and stimulated by certain unguarded generalities uttered in England in times of stress, have caused grave alarm and anxiety in the United Kingdom.

India has claimed equal rights of citizenship for Indians in Kenya; and the white East Africans have opposed Indian claims. British statesmen, while reiterating their belief in the possibility of a "settlement acceptable to both sides," have more than once appealed to East Africans "not to lose sight of broad Imperial issues."

The East Africans have answered that in their conception the preservation of the White Race and of Western Civilisation, and the fulfilment of responsibilities to backward native peoples in Africa, are broader Imperial issues than the temporary placation of India. For they require that each impending modification in race-relations, whether in India, Africa or elsewhere, shall be valued by its influence on the factor most vital to the course of human evolution—the QUALITY of human life. Therefore, the East Africans have entreated English Statesmen to abandon the pursuit of political expediency, and to face the portents of the future.

The Indian Question in Kenya, looked at squarely, is the beginning of a conflict of Races for the final supremacy of a Continent, calling forth in the White Race the primitive instinct of self-preservation, and raising in the Asiatic the alluring hope of dealing a blow which will weaken White political control in Asia. Therefore, to dream of "a settlement acceptable to both sides" is dangerous self-deception, calculated to precipitate the downfall of the White Race:—unless indeed surrender by the Asiatic be "acceptable" to him, or unless both races can be brought to regard as "acceptable" some "via media" which does not compromise essential principles.

The white East Africans recognise that it is their duty to justify their conception of policy in the eyes of the White People of the British Commonwealth, and they believe that the essential groundwork of it is founded on so truthful a reading of past and present history, that they will secure the favourable verdict which they earnestly desire, provided they can overcome in the minds of their judges the factors of widely different environments, and of distance, which make it difficult for the component parts of an Empire which stretches round the World to appreciate each other's circumstances.

The Dominions have in varying degrees already anticipated the conclusions of Kenya and put them into practice, for the dread of gradual race deterioration and ultimate extinction through the infiltration of coloured races has been brought home to them by the nearness of the menace.

Australia has set up the unbending policy of "White Australia," so protecting her empty spaces from swarming coloured immigration and preserving them for future settlement by the White Races.

New Zealand, protecting herself by restrictive immigration laws, holds her country for the White Race and for her indigenous Maoris.

Canada, in like manner, protects the White Race and her native Red Men.

These three Dominions locked their gates in time, and but few non-indigenous coloured persons were within when this was done.

The South African Union came into existence too late to save the position in Natal, where the planters had introduced Indian labour before the days when the menace of coloured immigration was fully understood. The Union now, besides an exclusion policy, has an Asiatic repatriation policy, and by means of it is grappling with the problem of a domiciled Asiatic population, one tenth of her white population in numbers, and breeding 25 per cent. more rapidly. The resolve of the Union is to save South Africa for the White Race and for her large native population.

Rhodesia follows similar lines in matters of immigration and native policy, but is spared the presence of an appreciable Asiatic population.

The self-governing Dominions and self-governing Rhodesia are united in preserving their territories, temperate and tropical, settled or still empty, as the homes of the White Race and their indigenous native peoples. Rigid exclusion of the Asiatics is the law of the self-governing White Communities outside the United Kingdom and Ireland. Thus the policy which East Africans seek to establish is one which has already secured the endorsement of their kinsmen of the Dominions.

The views of the Dominions are set out in the declarations of the Imperial Conferences of 1918 and 1921. The Conference of 1918 resolved as follows:—

"It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by means of restriction of immigration from any other communities."

The Conference of 1921 resolved:—

"The Conference, while reaffirming the Resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918, that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire, and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of the opinion that, in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised."

The Union of South Africa dissented from the latter part of the 1921 Resolution in these words:—

"The Representatives of South Africa regret their inability to accept this resolution in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union."

South Africa's "exceptional circumstances" were the presence of a domiciled Indian population, one tenth of her white population, and breeding at a rate one quarter more rapid; and the responsibility for the future welfare of five million native Africans held in trust by the White Race. Her representatives who dissented included General Smuts, and they cannot be held to be men who would be unmindful of "broad Imperial Issues," or would lightly act in such a manner as to endanger the security of the Empire. Yet they dissented rather than adulterate the quality of White Rule in South Africa by admitting domiciled Indians to the franchise. They refused to grant equality of political status where there was marked inequality between the quality of human life of the claimants and of the ruling White Race.

Kenya's "exceptional circumstances" are of the same kind as those of South Africa, but greater in degree. Her Indian population at present out-numbers her white East Africans by more than five to two. At a time when the white East Africans had no voice in the Government of the Colony, Indian immigration was initiated by the Imperial Government in furtherance of a misguided labour policy, which decided to build Kenya's first railway with Indian labour, and rejected the offer of a responsible firm of British Contractors to build it with native African labour. Her white population is free of all responsibility for having at any time imported Indian coolie labour for their own purposes. Her native African population is three millions, and with it are implicated the future of the native populations of Uganda and Tanganyika, in all upwards of thirteen million African wards of the White Race. Kenya still awaits the grant of self-government, but from the earliest beginnings of White settlement her Colonists have been assured again and again by Secretaries of State and Governors that the future holds that gift in store for them; and these assurances culminated in 1922 in the categorical statement by a Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

> "We do not contemplate any settlement or system which will prevent British East Africa, Kenya as it is now known, becoming a characteristically and distinctively British Colony, looking forward in the full fruition of time to responsible self-government."

Bearing in mind the unanimous agreement of the Dominions to close their gates against Indian immigration; their Premiers' consent to grant citizenship to domiciled Indians only when the number involved was too significant to be of any consequence; the refusal of South Africa to agree in view of her "exceptional circumstances"; and the acceptance by the Dominions and India of her refusal,—Kenya believes she may with confidence rely on the Dominions to support her right to dissent from the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921 in view of her superlatively "exceptional circumstances", in order that her future as a characteristically and distinctively British Self-Governing Colony may not be prejudiced by external pressure, exercised on behalf of the ambitions of India.

To gain a favourable verdict from the United Kingdom is a more difficult task. England's insular position and her remoteness from the East, combined with the Englishman's native instinct of liberality towards other races and countries, make it immeasurably harder for him to envisage the Asiatic danger to-day, than it was for him in the spring of 1914 to realise the Prussian menace.

The treatment of Kenya's Indian Question by the 1921 Standing Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on Indian affairs is a disquieting instance of what may happen.

The Report of the Committee (White Paper No. 180 of 1921) sets aside the conclusions of the Colonial Office Despatch of May, 1920, which embodied Lord Milner's East African policy, and adopts those of the Government of India as expressed in their Despatch No. 33 of Oct. 21, 1920. The Report hinges on paragraph 6, the material words of which are:—

> "The Committee have decided to recommend the acceptance of the general principle which the Government of India have laid down, namely, that there is no justification in Kenya for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects."

The value of this conclusion is sufficiently indicated by one of its members, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, who urged that the Committee was neither qualified nor empowered to deal with

a matter of such vital importance to Imperial policy, affecting the whole Empire; that it had refused to call as witnesses two members of the Kenya Legislative Council who were in London at the time, (significant in view of the statement in the report that it was inconvenient or impossible to obtain evidence); that it lacked evidence on vital statistics and on economic and financial matters; and that its recommendations threatened the absorption of the Government of Kenya by Indians, a result disastrous alike to white East Africans and to the interests of the native population, which it should be the first object of the local Government to promote.

The people of the United Kingdom, set securely at the heart of white civilisation, immersed in the complexities of dense industrialism, and protected by a climate unattractive to coloured people, are so far removed from the eager thrust of teeming Asiatic populations that they experience great difficulty in appreciating that epoch-making changes in the relations between the primary races of mankind, in a world which has grown small, threaten to be the riddle of the Twentieth Century. They are however the arbiters of the fate of Africa, and should they remain unseeing, the near future may witness the tragedy of the submersion of white settlements and indigenous tribes beneath an Asiatic flood, which either could stem by their own efforts were not the Asiatic assault maintained under the protection of the power of Great Britain.

Were such a thing possible, the immigration of 100 million British Indians, of the labourer, artizan, and shop-keeper classes, into Great Britain, would produce the same numerical relations between the White and Asiatic Races which actually to-day exist in Kenya. Then would the anxiety of East Africans be understood. These "British Subjects" would under-live, out-breed and supplant the white Britons; they would lower the standard of living in stratum after stratum of society; they would spread new forms of disease, and, when race consciousness allowed, they would intermarry and raise a race of bastardised mongrels. Surely the people of Great Britain could not contemplate this picture with equanimity. Would they urge Parliament to enfranchise even ten per cent. of these, their "fellow subjects," in order that no incongruity

might mar India's position as an equal member of the British Empire, and because "there is no justification for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects"? If not, then in common fairness they cannot use their power, the only force which stands between Africa and freedom, to bind Kenya and her native population and hand them over to be bled to death by Asiatic India. It seems incredible that the people of the United Kingdom should have allowed themselves to drift to the brink of responsibility for a deed so contrary to their nature.

Had the last nine years been less abnormal, the characteristic aptitude of the people of the United Kingdom to fix upon essential issues might have guided them to centre attention on the overwhelming danger that, profiting by the exhaustion of the White Race caused by four years of devastating Civil War, the Coloured Races would grasp their opportunity to throw off foreign rule and win freedom. They would have appreciated that "the basic factor in human affairs is not politics, but Race." (Stoddard).

White Supremacy has come to be looked upon as part of the established order of the World, but historically it is a structure of recent growth. Before the beginnings of recorded history the Asiatic drove the White Race from its earliest racehome in Central and Western Asia. For very many centuries the struggle was waged, the White Race yielding ground before successive waves of yellow men, until Mongoloid peoples were settled firmly over a great part of that peninsula of Asia, now called the Continent of Europe. Even within the Christian Era, four times since the fall of Rome have Asiatic invaders pushed the White Race to the very confines of North-Western Europe. When Charlemagne began his great task, the White Race was restricted to Scandinavia, the British Isles, Germany west of the Elbe, the Low Countries and Northern France, with isolated groups in Southern France, Spain and Italy. Attila pressed on until defeated at Chalons in Northern France in A.D. 451. The Saracens, after conquering the White Race on the North Coast of Africa and in Spain, pushed north to meet defeat at Tours in A.D. 732. But Charlemagne and his successors advanced eastwards the

frontiers of Christendom, enabling the next two Asiatic invasions to be stayed further towards the East. The victorious Tartars were turned south at Wahlstadt in Silesia in A.D. 1241, and the Turks in A.D. 1683 were defeated before the walls of Vienna. From that time onwards the Asiatic races sank gradually into comparative quiescence, and sought isolation. But counter-attacks on Asia by land undertaken by the White Race were throughout barren of enduring results, and immense areas, once the homes of the White Race, were permanently lost.

It was not until the mastery of the sea was won that White expansion began. Columbus in 1492 gave the White Race two continents, and Vasco de Gama in 1494 showed how the flank of Asia could be turned. Thus White expansion has been in progress for four hundred years, in contrast to the four thousand years duration of the Asiatic outward movement.

The earlier efforts of White expansion were directed towards the settlement of newly discovered and comparatively empty countries,—(first the Americas, later Australia, South Africa and New Zealand),—and towards overseas trade with Asia and East Africa. Only with the dawn of the age of steam navigation did the White Race take the great forward strides in Asia which have brought vast Asiatic areas and populations under White political control. Nowhere in Asia has the White Man succeeded in regaining a racial hold by settlement, (the Russians, being largely Mongoloid, form no true exception to this rule). The White hold on Asia is therefore political, not racial, and is little over one hundred years old.

Political control without racial settlement, however imposing in outward appearance, has throughout history been proved to be ephemeral, depending on the determination of the foreign rulers to use force, and on the acquiescence of the subject peoples. There can be no comparison between the relative permanence of the White grip on Australia, where 5,400,000 Britons, although a scanty population for so great a territory, have anchored themselves to the soil, and on India, where White political control of 315 million Asiatics depends on sixty thousand soldiers and fifteen hundred Civil Servants.

Figures of area and population illustrate the thinness of the film of white political control spread over non-white countries. The habitable land area of the World is 55,500,000 square miles, of which only 6,500,000 are not under White racial or political control. Hence nearly eight-ninths of all habitable land is under White control. But unfortunately there is another side to the picture. The population of the World is about 1,700 millions, of which 550 millions are white, and 1,150 millions are coloured. Of the White Race, about 425 millions are concentrated in Europe upon an area of 3,750,000 square miles, and 100 millions in the United States of America on an area of about 3,800,000 square miles. Therefore, more than nineteen twentieths of the White Race are massed on less than one-seventh of the White controlled land, leaving 25 millions,—one twenty-second part of the Race,—scattered throughout the length and breadth of six-sevenths of the land controlled by it, to develop its vast colonial territories and to withstand the incessant pressure of the 1,150 millions of the Coloured Races.

In considering the prospects of White political control over Asiatic peoples, the arresting factor is the renaissance of Asia. The original motive for the conquest of India was certainly the desire for new markets and new supplies of raw materials, to secure which force was used and political control was established. Misgivings as to the equity of its overlordship later assailed the White Race, and it applied itself with true altruism to the task of regenerating its subject races. The method followed was to place the storehouses of the White Man's knowledge unreservedly and without discretion at the disposal of the Asiatic. In the end the Asiatic learnt that by adopting the White Man's methods and adapting them to his own needs he could forge weapons with which to win freedom from foreign domination. He saw (whether by instinct or insight is immaterial) that the chief weapons were modern naval and military strength and modern industrialism, with which to recapture his own markets and to invade the World's; but now, true to his old impulse to invade, he recognises that the most powerful of all is migration into White and non-Asiatic tropical countries, where by underliving he can supplant the White Race, and where, taking advantage of

democratic institutions, his numbers will give him political control. The new hope brought him a sense of national cohesion, and prompted him to remember his past empires and old traditions; and Asia became renascent. The evidence of this is to be seen throughout the continent, in Japan, China, India, Arabia, Turkey, and in those elements of the population of Egypt and North Africa which are racially Asiatic. There is much to make him sanguine of success:—Japan's victories over China and Russia, and the recent Turkish triumphs; the successful growth of industrialism in Japan, China and India; the secure footing which the vanguards of Asia's migrating multitudes have established in non-Asiatic countries; the weakness and exhaustion of distracted Europe; and above all, the doctrinaire altruism of the White Race, which blinds it and paralyses its remaining strength.

The situation, looked at dispassionately, admits of but one conclusion: White political control in Asia is doomed, and its withdrawal is only a matter of years.

And to that conclusion there is a corollary which requires to be faced by the White Race with promptitude and firmness. In the presence of the Brown and Yellow Races, flushed with success and urged on by the surge of dense fast-breeding populations, the White Race must expect fierce commercial competition throughout the markets of the world, and a still fiercer attempt to break down the barriers which protect its thinly populated colonial possessions from the flood of Asiatic immigration. The desire for free migration is so intense that it may on occasion be supported by armed force, as a leading Indian in Kenya has publicly threatened.

Confronted by the fast approaching crisis in the relations of the primary races of Mankind, the White Race has no choice but to abandon its Nineteenth Century attitude of aggressive expansion, and to collect and re-organise its diminished strength within defensible lines, there to await the shock of the Asiatic onslaught, which will strain its resources to the uttermost, and may cover a long period of time.

The danger of the situation does not lie chiefly in the insufficiency of White resources to withstand the strain, for history shows that in the past when the odds were greater, the

White Race was able to turn back Asiatic invasion. It lies in the subtly plausible forms of the attack, which may take the White Race unprepared. Already Asiatic advance guards have established bridge-heads in many territories where the White watch was not alert; for example Natal, East Africa, Mauritius, Fiji and British Guiana. The cosmopolitans, both the secret agents of Bolshevik propaganda, and their unconscious instruments, the sincere exponents of rigid political theories, may so play upon the lower and material cravings and so drug the higher senses of the White Race, that it may awake too late.

If the White Race awakes in time, its first act will be to decide where to draw its defensive lines. Assuming that White political control will be gradually withdrawn from Asiatic countries, two classes of territories will remain; those which are definitely the permanent homes of the White Race, and those non-Asiatic countries where the White Race has established itself by firmly rooted settlement among indigenous peoples.

Of the unflinching defence of the former there can be no question. It is concerning the defence of the latter that hesitation is to be feared. Yet on reflection it will be found that, even as the frontiers of France and Belgium proved to be the frontier of England in the great White Civil War, so the holding of these territories is essential to the safety of the White racial homes. It is because the Asiatic recognises the importance of them as stepping stones to further advances that the vanguards of his invasion have already landed on their shores.

Africa is the most important unit of this group of territories. Her immense area, her fertility, her numerous primitive populations, her geographical position, and the present isolation of her White race settlements have combined to attract Asiatic invasion. So great are her potentialities that control of them may prove to be the decisive factor in the coming conflict of the primary Races.

The isolation of Africa remained almost undisturbed until the Nineteenth Century; so it comes about that her people, lacking initiative, are backward, and that she is the greatest

fertile land mass which awaits development. Her central geographical position in relation to the other land masses of the Globe gives her the strategic advantage of interior lines in peace and war. She is favourably situated for distributing her products, and for receiving imports from North, East and West. Her position, her many harbours, and her numerous and brave native populations give her great possibilities as a military base,—advantages which were fully recognised in the German "Mittel Afrika" scheme. Her soil fertility, aided by a wide range of climates, promises a vast output of many kinds of raw materials, needed by crowded, industrialised countries. Her native population of 120 millions, the quickest breeding race on earth, assures the means for developing her resources, and promises a huge demand for imports.

The salient characteristic of the native populations is superabundant animal vitality. The native African breeds more rapidly than any other race. Formerly intertribal wars, despotism, savage religious customs and disease kept down his natural increase, but under White tutelage these scourges are diminishing, and it seems certain that so long as White control continues, the native population will increase enormously. This capacity of the native to increase is one of the great assets of Africa, promising in conjunction with White settlement, the intensive development of the continent's rich resources.

The control of Africa by the White Race does not lead to the ultimate demand for withdrawal which has arisen in Asia, both because the natures of the African and the Asiatic are widely different, and because the nature of White control in the two continents rests on different foundations.

The Asiatic has shown himself to possess constructive genius, and he has built up civilisations by his own initiative. His mind, stored with memories of his own past conquests and empires, smarts under White political control, and he has again demonstrated his capacity by not only adopting Western knowledge, but adapting it to his own particular needs. The result is that Asia is renascent.

The African is the reverse of this. He has no constructive power. He has not built up a civilisation, neither has he

carried conquest outside Africa. He is intelligent and imitative: he adopts, but does not adapt. He yields readily to external influences, but quickly relapses to savagery on withdrawal of the pressure. Meredith Townsend aptly says:—

"None of the black races, whether negro or Australian, have shown within the historic time the capacity to develop civilisation. They have never passed the boundaries of their own habitats as conquerors, and never exercised the smallest influence over peoples not black. They have never founded a stone city, have never built a ship, have never produced a literature, have never suggested a creed. . . There seems to be no reason for this except race. It is said that the negro has been buried in the most "Massive" of the four continents and has been, so to speak, lost to humanity; but he was always on the Nile, the immediate road to the Mediterranean, and in West and East Africa he was on the sea. Africa is probably more fertile and almost certainly richer than Asia, and is pierced by rivers as mighty, and some of them at least as navigable. What could a singularly healthy race, armed with a constitution which resists the sun and defies malaria, wish for better than to be seated on the Nile, or the Congo, or the Niger, in numbers amply sufficient to execute any needed work, from the cutting of forests and the making of roads up to the building of cities? How was the negro more secluded than the Peruvian; or why was he "shut up" worse than the Tatar of Samarcand, who one day shook himself, gave up all tribal feuds, and, from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Baltic and southward to the Nerbudda, mastered the world? . . . . . The negro went by himself far beyond the Australian savage. He learnt the use of fire, the fact that sown grain will grow, the value of shelter, the use of the bow and the canoe, and the good of clothes; but there to all appearances he stopped, unable, until stimulated by another race like the Arab, to advance another step."

("Asia and Europe," pp. 92, 356—8.)

The White control of Asia is political. The case of India is typical. British supremacy, based on conquest and on treaties rendered possible by adjacent conquests, initiated mainly for the sake of trade openings, is maintained by a small group of civil servants protected by military power.

In striking contrast, White control in Africa stands on White settlement. In the North, the French have planted 1,000,000 of their countrymen among an indigenous population, the remnants of the North-African division of the Mediterranean branch of the White Race, with whom they are drawing closer bonds of race kinship. The South up to the line of the Zambesi is strongly held by 1,500,000 of the White Race, and their settlements are steadily extending North, through Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, until, across the mandated territory of Tanganyika, they are almost in touch with their fellow-countrymen in Kenya and Uganda. In the Equatorial Highlands of Kenya, the White Race is rooted immoveably in the soil, and Kenya by reason of the exceptional quality of her soil and climate can absorb a White population one hundred times as numerous as her present one. In Uganda, Tanganyika and Nyasaland, there exist high healthy regions, waiting only for communications to bring White settlement to them. British settlement is on the eve of welding a strong connecting chain from the Equator to the Cape of Good Hope. The British territory in the weakest position is the West African group. There the control is political, with all the inherent defects which belong to this system. However, there is reason to believe that the Highlands of Northern Nigeria may prove suitable for White settlement: and were the official elements reinforced by colonists who looked on the country as their permanent home, there would be fuller understanding of native problems, a steadier continuity of policy, and a greatly strengthened racial occupation. The remainder of Africa is occupied by the Portuguese, who both on the East Coast and in Angola control high country which is likely to support White settlement; by the Belgians in the Congo, whose Government is encouraging the white agricultural settlement which has established itself between Kilo and Kasenyi; and by the Italians, who in Somaliland own a comparatively unproductive area. Looked on broadly, White racial settlement has established three strong bases—Southern Africa, Algeria and Kenya; and outposts of White settlement have been established, or are about to be established, connecting these bases by a network of permanent White Race influence spread throughout the continent and destined to replace the transitory political control which still exists in the Protectorates.

The African native, wanting in constructive power, is unfitted to stand alone. Compare Lothrop Stoddard:—

> "Unless, then, every lesson of history is to disregarded, we must conclude that black Africa is unable to stand alone. The black man's numbers may increase prodigiously and acquire veneers, but the black man's nature will not change. Black unrest may grow and cause much trouble. Nevertheless, the white man must stand fast in Africa. No black 'renaissance' impends, and Africa, if abandoned by the whites, would merely fall beneath the onset of the browns. And that would be a great calamity."

("The Rising Tide of Colour," p. 102.)

Wherever he has tried—in Haiti, San Domingo, and Liberia—his failure has been complete. Haunted by no memories of past greatness, and loving novelty, he, though a brave fighter, has offered comparatively slight resistance to the establishment of foreign control, and has readily accepted the changes which it has brought. The question of his future, therefore, seems inevitably to resolve itself into a choice between foreign controlling races; and once more the rivals are the White Man and the Asiatic, who this time appears in two distinct forms—the Arab and the Indian.

The Arabs were the first foreigners to break in on the isolation of the African native. After conquering North Africa, they filtered across the Sahara, establishing Mohammedan states among the warlike tribes along its southern edge: they passed up the Nile Valley into Equatorial Africa, and, sailing down the East Coast, effected settlements on it and penetrated inland. Resistance to numerical pressure by Arabs is facilitated by the physical features of continent. French settlement in North Africa restricts Arab activities north of the Sahara. The desert itself is a formidable obstacle to movement south, leaving but one avenue, the Nile Valley, to be guarded. The sea is closed to them, and the only land access to Asia—the Isthmus of Suez—is barred by the necessity imposed on the White Race to hold the Suez Canal at all hazards. But they have in their religion a more formidable weapon than invasion. Islam makes a direct appeal to the African mind, and its influence is freely used to

rouse hostility against White control, and to unite all its followers against the common enemy. It is perhaps the only force capable of inspiring the diverse tribes of Africa to concerted action. Sir Charles Eliot has said:—

> "Mohammedanism can still give the natives a motive for animosity against Europeans, and a unity of which they are otherwise incapable."

Meredith Townsend in describing the Mohammedan movement says:—

> "All the emotions which impel a Christian to proselytize, are in a Mussulman strengthened by all the motives which impel a political leader and all the motives which sway a recruiting sergeant, until proselytizing has become a passion, which, whenever success seems practicable, and especially success on a large scale, develops in the quietest Mussulman a fury of ardor which induces him to break down every obstacle, his own strongest prejudices included, rather than stand for an instant in the neophyte's way. He welcomes him as a son, and whatever his own lineage, and whether the convert be negro, or Chinaman, or Indian, or even European, he will without hesitation or scruple give him his own child in marriage, and admit him fully, frankly, and finally into the most exclusive circle in the world."
>
> ("Asia and Europe," pp. 86—87.)

So far as the African himself is concerned, Mohammedanism on the East Coast and in Equatorial Africa is mainly a religious and non-militant faith; but in Northern Africa it is associated with the Pan-Islamic movement, which is chiefly directed towards freeing the Mohammedan world from White political control. If gradual withdrawal from Asia became an accepted part of White policy, much of the force and bitterness of the movement in Africa would disappear; for in Africa Pan-Islamism is to some extent counter-attacking the White Race with the idea of relieving pressure on Mohammedan home countries in Asia.

The White Race has another means by which to combat the Pan-Islamic movement,—to encourage the spread of Christianity among the African natives. In the presence of the coming conflict of Races, and the gradual withdrawal from

Asia which it will entail, the incentive to maintain an attitude of complete tolerance towards the beginnings of militant semi-political Mohammedanism will in the main disappear, and the moment will arise when the White Race can promote the spread of the religion to which it owns allegiance, without fear of political consequences. (The fullest and most sympathetic tolerance will of course be maintained towards Mohammedanism on its religious side.)

With all the assistance which can be given, Christianity will have an uphill fight against the fanatical element. J. H. Oldham remarks:—

> "At the present day among primitive peoples, and especially in the continent of Africa, Islam is advancing with rapid strides, and it seems not improbable that the subjection of the peoples of Africa to the rule of the Christian Powers may have the remarkable consequence of accelerating their conversion to Islam."
>
> ("The World and the Gospel," pp. 110—1).

Lothrop Stoddard well sums up the position thus:—

> "Certainly, all white men, whether professing Christians or not, should welcome the success of missionary efforts in Africa. The degrading fetishism and demonology which sums up the native pagan cults cannot stand, and all negroes will some day be either Christians or Moslems. In so far as he is Christianized, the negro's savage instincts will be restrained, and he will be disposed to acquiesce in white tutelage. In so far as he is Islamized, the negro's warlike propensities will be inflamed, and he will be used as the tool of Arab Pan-Islamism seeking to drive the white man from Africa and make the continent its very own."
>
> ("Rising Tide of Colour," pp. 96—7.)

Unfortunately, besides the Arab and Swahili Mohammedans, there are in Kenya large numbers of Indian Mohammedans. Of these Sir Charles Eliot has said:—"All these Indian Sects" (i.e. Mohammedan Sects) "are far more fanatical and quarrelsome than the Arabs." The truth of this has been fully demonstrated by recent intrigues to stir up animosity in the Arabs and Swahilis against the White Race.

It has long been suspected in this Colony that the Indians in Kenya through their Associations in India have been concerned in Bolshevik propoganda. A connecting link now seems to have been established by French research, which shows the relations existing between Bolshevism and militant Islam. These relations represent much more than a temporary political alliance between incompatible forces. "La Bolchevisme et l'Islam," recently published by the Scientific Mission of Morocco, reveals, (according to a review in the Times Literary Supplement of 1st February, 1923), an extraordinary tale of virulent and successful Bolshevist intrigue among Mohammedans, in Africa as well as in Asia. Peace between Angora and Moscow, the respective political centres of Islam and Bolshevism, has been converted into an actual alliance. Islam has many warm admirers among the Europeans of Kenya; but if she entertains the overtures of Satanism, she will forcibly alienate British sympathy, much to her own detriment.

The other horn of the crescent of Asiatic invasion,—the Indian,—includes many Mohammedans, and its political leaders seize every opportunity of turning Mohammedan fanaticism against the White Man. Within the last few weeks, there appeared in the local press of Kenya a rambling letter written by a well-meaning but unrepresentative European, into which had crept an irrelevant reference to Mohammed lacking the respect due to a great man. The Indian agitators seized on this irresponsible phrase, represented it to the Coast Arabs and Mohammedan Swahilis as a deliberate attack on their religion by the Christians of Kenya, and by a violent propaganda succeeded in arousing intense feeling, to which vent was given by excited mass meetings and by a protest strike at Mombasa. Their action was unblushingly dishonest, because the Government and the Convention of Associations, which is the representative assembly of white East Africans, had promptly and publicly disowned the foolish phrase; but the incident illustrates both the inflammatory power of Islam, and the unscrupulous methods of the Indian political leaders.

The newer form of the Asiatic invasion of Africa, that of the Indian, is the more dangerous to the control of Africa by the White Race, because of its more insidious methods, and because it proceeds with the active and open support of the Government of India, and under the protection of the power of the United

Kingdom. The dangerous factor is the last. Were the hands of the African not tied behind his back by the power of the United Kingdom, Indian invasion would never have begun, or, having reached its present stage, would cease in a few weeks. Were British political control withdrawn, the predatory but pusillanimous Indian immigrant would flee before the anger of the warlike African, who hates and despises him. Were the white East Africans self-governing, they would put into practice the policy adopted by the Union of South Africa with the acquiescence of the British Commonwealth, without sacrificing the "broad Imperial issues" of our Statesmen, or hastening the date of India's secession from the Empire.

India attacks Africa by demanding complete equality of status for her subjects in Kenya. The resolution moved by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri in the Indian Council of State on March 5. 1923 is explicit:—

> "This Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he be pleased to convey by telegraphic message to His Majesty's Government the view of this Council that no settlement regarding the political rights and status of Indian settlers in the Crown Colony of Kenya will satisfy the people of India unless Indians in Kenya are granted full and equal rights of citizenship with European settlers, and this Council records its indignant protest at the reported threats of violence on the part of the latter and fully trusts that His Majesty's Government will take effective steps to prevent any such outbreak and to afford Indian residents the necessary protection, and this Council records its emphatic conviction that no restrictions on new immigration from India will be acceptable to public opinion here."
>
> (Calcutta Statesman, 7th March, 1923).

English Statesmen have so far insisted on looking at the Indian invasion of Africa from a single point of view—its relation to unrest in India. They refuse to consider it on its merits or from the point of view of the welfare of Africa, the country chieflyconcerned. It is true that they state that they are not prepared to grant at present India's demand for complete equality of status in all respects; but there are indications * that

* The text of the London terms of settlement have been communicated to responsible persons in Kenya Colony under a promise that they will not be published.

they are prepared to grant such concessions as would abandon essential principles and so inevitably bring about the full realisation of India's claims. The nature of the Asiatic is to look upon a concession as a sign of weakness or fear,—(in this case he would be fully justified in doing so),—which encourages him to ask for more. With the eyes of English statesmen rivetted on the barometer of Indian unrest, Indian political leaders feel confident that their next demand in Africa has only to coincide with a renewed manifestation of bitterness in India to insure its acceptance. Moreover, essential principles having been sacrificed in the first measure of concession, the Indian political leaders will find it easier at each step to push the English Statesmen down the increasingly slippery path which ends in complete surrender.

The Indian claims are based in the first instance on alleged priority of settlement; but in fact, the history of the Indian in Africa is chiefly remarkable as illustrating his parasitical character. From time to time, inaccurate statements have been made by prominent Indians as to the ancient nature of Indian settlement in East Africa, and the initiative there shown by Indians, without which, it is asserted, the development which has taken place could not have been achieved. These statements are made as bare assertions, and reference to authorities is avoided. The reason is obvious. No evidence supporting such claims exists. On the contrary, a long series of official Dispatches, White Papers, etc., dealing with East Africa contains conclusive evidence against them. It will be sufficient to quote a few instances.

Indian traders first appeared on the East Coast in the train of the Arab invaders; they did not venture inland; they appear to have been largely engaged in supplying arms and ammunition to the Arab slave-traders; during British efforts to suppress the slave-trade they supplied arms and ammunition to the Arabs for slave-raiding and for use against the British. White Paper Africa No. 10 of 1888, after ascribing the cause of the unfriendliness of a certain African potentate towards the British to the active hostility of the Arabs, arising from the thwarting of their slave dealing says:—

"The great question is that regarding the import of arms and ammunition into East Africa. This trade has now assumed proportions of which your Lordship may be unaware. . . . . The trade in arms and ammunition is at present entirely in the hands of the British Indian Subjects. . . . . It is through these British Indian merchants that the Arabs and Chiefs in the interior are supplied with all these arms and ammunition."

On Oct. 2, 1888, Lord Salisbury wrote to Colonel Euan Smith at Zanzibar:—

"I telegraphed to you to-day that I approved, as a temporary measure, the prohibition of export of arms by British Indian subjects to the coast."

As British Administration spread inland establishing peace and order, the Indians followed at a safe distance, until to-day they have set up a network of stores where they barter imported goods for native produce. They seldom invest their profits in the Colony, but remit them to India. The ill-omened determination of the British Government to built the Uganda Railway with Indian instead of African labour brought in a large influx of coolies and semi-skilled artisans, many of whom remained in the Colony after the expiration of their contracts. By their coming they supplanted the African, and by their continued presence they bar his rise above the ranks of unskilled labour. After the downfall of the Arabs, the Indians turned on their former protectors, and by their familiar methods of mortgage and foreclosure, bled them, until to day few Arabs remain who are not poor. During the Great War the Indians returned to their old disloyal practices of 1888. The war record of the Indians resident in Kenya, taken from official sources, is:—killed, nil; died of wounds, nil; executed for treachery, 5; the death sentence in three other cases being commuted, while many others sought escape from punishment by flight. Since the war, their activities have been directed to fomenting anti-European feeling among the natives, instances of which are the Harry Thuku disturbances among the Kikuyu, discontent among the Kavirondos, and the recent Mohammedan excitement at Mombasa. Since early in 1922, they have had four nominated members on the Legislative Council, selected and recommended to the Governor by the Indian representative association, therefore presumably men possessing the confidence and esteem of

their compatriots. The warmest admirers of these gentlemen would find it difficult to maintain that their presence has added greatly to the dignity or efficiency of the Council. The present number of Indians in Kenya is about 25,000, their nett increase in the last nine months of 1922 was 2,888, and they breed twenty-five per cent. more rapidly than the White Race. The Indian political leaders in Kenya have taken many opportunities of publicly associating themselves with the extremists of India: and their whole policy in Kenya, from the campaign of misrepresentation and abuse carried on in their local press, which lately went the length of accusing the women of England of gross and habitual immorality,* to their dangerous instigation of the native races to sedition, is bitterly anti-European. The strong and growing feeling in India against British control insures that fresh immigrants to Kenya will be imbued with the same bitterness.

Mr. Sastri in 1921 openly stated to two European members of the Kenya Legislative Council that in the event of Indians obtaining a Common Franchise it was the fixed intention of India to obtain political control of Kenya by flooding the electoral roll with qualified Indian voters. The bitterness of anti-British feeling in India and in Kenya, coupled with Mr. Sastri's frank admission, and taken in conjunction with the complete absence of any tangible non-political grievance, compels the conclusion that the Indian demand for equality of status is made with the deliberate intention of wresting political control from British hands. That would be a result which no British community could contemplate, least of all a community of pioneers.

In order clearly to comprehend why the Asiatic presses so insistently for "equality of status" in Kenya,—a kind of status, the conception of which he must have first learnt from the White Race, for it is foreign to the political ideas of his own; and why the white East Africans in particular, and the White Race as a whole must refuse the grant of it to the Asiatic; it is desirable to consider the probable course of events if it were yielded.

The Indian Editor responsible for the article in question narrowly escaped deportation.

Kenya is a Crown Colony. Her franchise is a common manhood and womanhood suffrage, restricted to Europeans. She possesses a Legislative and an Executive Council. The former is composed of 15 European and 1 Arab official members, 11 elected European and 4 nominated Indian members. Hence there is a clear official majority, whose members must vote as directed by the Governor or Secretary of State for the Colonies, on pain of dismissal from their seats and salaried posts should they refuse. The Executive Council consists of the Governor and five European official members, two European nominated members, and one Indian nominated member.

Mr. Sastri has confirmed, what East Africans have consistently maintained, that the first act of the Indians on being granted "equality of status" would be to swamp the voters' list with new immigrants, to whom the open door of unrestricted immigration offers no obstacle. The European voters number between 3,000 and 4,000, so the realisation of Mr. Sastri's threat is no great task, and it would be made easier by the cessation of European immigration, and probably by an exodus of the existing European population, who would be disheartened by the betrayal of their Colony. By the next triennial election the Indians would probably be strong enough to capture most, if not all, of the elected seats in the Legislative Council.

Their next step would be to demand an unofficial elected majority in the Legislative Council. Their demand would be in accordance with constitutional practice, and the Statesmen of London would not dare to refuse it, lest "broad Imperial issues" be lost to sight, and India secede. India will have learnt the value of this card, and will play it with increasing boldness in each succeeding hand. In this way the qualified protection given by the European official majority would disappear.

An Indian elected majority in the Legislative Council could paralyse the action of the Executive Council, so the next Indian demand for a majority on it would meet with little opposition. In such circumstances it is of course extravagant to imagine that it would be possible for the Governor

so to exercise his power,—absolute though it is in theory,—as to counteract Indian domination.

Thus six years hence, say in 1930, the British Empire may view the spectacle of a "self-governing" British Indian Colony in Africa, with a population of say 100,000 Indians, ruling three million African natives, and a handful of Europeans, overtaken by poverty before they could escape.

This phenomenon may be expected to have an interesting reaction on the position in India. To refuse full responsible government to the mother-country, seeking to govern her people of her own race, would clearly be unreasonable when commission had been granted to her daughter colony to discharge the Imperial task of governing three million people of another race. Therefore, England would have no choice but to grant to India full self-government, under the now familiar threat of secession.

What may be expected to happen next is best set out in the unequivocal language of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, who is described by Sir Valentine Chirol as a high-caste Hindu of great intellectual force and high character, who has had a Western education and has travelled extensively in Europe and America. Sir Valentine states that he is an "advanced" leader, but does not rank among the revolutionary extremists. Mr. Pal, lecturing in 1907, said:—

"Is really self-government within the Empire a practicable ideal? What would it mean? It would mean either no real self-government for us or no real overlordship for England. Would we be satisfied with the shadow of self-government? If not, would England be satisfied with the shadow of overlordship? In either case England would not be satisfied with a shadowy overlordship, and we refuse to be satisfied with a shadowy self-government. And therefore no compromise is possible under such conditions between self-government in India and the overlordship of England. If self-government is conceded to us, what would be England's position not only in India, but in the British Empire itself? Self-government means the right of self-taxation; it means the right of financial control; it means the right of the people to impose protective and prohibitive tariffs on foreign imports,

The moment we have the right of self-taxation, what shall we do? We shall not try to be engaged in this uphill work of industry boycott. But we shall do what every nation has done. Under the circumstances in which we live now, we shall impose a heavy prohibitive protective tariff upon every inch of textile fabric from Manchester, upon every blade of knife that comes from Leeds. We shall refuse to grant admittance to a British soul into our territory. We would not allow British capital to be engaged in the development of Indian resources, as it is now engaged. We would not grant any right to British capitalists to dig up the mineral wealth of the land and carry it to their own isles. We shall want foreign capital. But we shall apply for foreign loans in the open market of the whole world, guaranteeing the credit of the Indian Government, the Indian nation, for the repayment of the loan, just as America has done and is doing, just as Russia is doing now, just as Japan has been doing of late. And England's commercial interests would not be furthered in the way these are being furthered now, under the conditions of popular self-government, though it might be within the Empire. But what would it mean within the Empire? It would mean that England would have to enter into some arrangement with us for some preferential tariff. England would have to come to our markets on the conditions that we would impose upon her for the purpose, if she wanted an open door to India, and after a while, when we have developed our resources a little and organised our industrial life, we would want the open door not only to England, but to every part of the British Empire. And do you think it is possible for a small country like England with a handful of population, although she might be enormously wealthy, to compete on fair and equitable terms with a mighty continent like India, with immense natural resources, with her teeming populations, the soberest and most abstemious populations known to any part of the world?

If we have really self-government within the Empire, if we have the rights of freedom of the Empire as Australia has, as Canada has, as England has to-day, if we 300 millions of people, have that freedom of the Empire, the Empire would cease to be British. It would be the Indian Empire, and the alliance between England and India would be absolutely an unequal alliance. That would be, if we had really self-

government within the Empire, exactly the relation as co-partners in a co-British or anti-British Empire of the future; and if the day comes when England will be reduced to the alternative of having us as an absolutely independent people or a co-partner with her in the Empire, she would prefer to have us, like the Japanese, as an ally and no longer a co-partner, because we are bound to be the predominant partner in this Imperial firm. Therefore no sane Englishman, politician or publicist can ever contemplate seriously the possibility of a self-governing India, like the self-governing colonies, forming a vital and organic part of the British Empire. Therefore it is that Lord Morley says that so long as India remains under the control of Great Britain the government of India must continue to be a personal and absolute one. Therefore it seems to me that this ideal, the practically attainable ideal of self-government within the Empire, when we analyse it with care, when we study it in the light of common human psychology, when we study it in the light of our past experience of the racial characteristics of the British people, when we study it in the light of past British history in India and other parts of the world, when we study and analyse this ideal of self-government within the Empire, we find it is a far more impracticable thing to attain than even our ideal Swaraj."

Sir Valentine adds:—

"I have quoted Mr. Pal's utterances at some length, because they are the fullest and the most frank exposition available of what lies beneath the claim to Colonial self-government as it is understod by "advanced" politicians. No one can deny the merciless logic with which he analyses the inevitable results of Swaraj, and Englishmen may well be grateful to him for having disclosed them so fearlessly. British sympathizers who are reluctant to look behind a formula which commends itself to their peculiar predilections, naturally dislike any reference to Mr. Pal's interpretations of Indian 'self-government,' and would even impugn his character in order the better to question his authority. But they cannot get over the fact that in India, very few 'moderate' politicians have had the courage openly to repudiate his programme, though many of them realise its dangers,

whilst the ' extremists '' want a much shorter cut to the same goal. It is only by pledging itself to Swaraj that the Indian National Congress has been able to maintain a semblance of unity.''

(Sir Valentine Chirol, '' Indian Unrest,'' pp. 12, 13, 14.)

So it might come about that by the irony of Fate the sacrifice of Kenya to Indian ambitions would hasten the very calamity to avoid which she was offered up.

Turning again to the British Indian Colony of Kenya, it is difficult to picture so grotesque a thing as the timid Indian ruling the manly war-loving African native. Certain it is that his rule would be corrupt and oppressive, for his veneer of Western democracy would soon wear off, leaving exposed the Eastern despot.

If India had not yet seceded, he would probably ask for and obtain the protection of British troops. If secession had come Great Britain would have to decide whether to surrender Kenya or hold on to her. In the latter event, the impossible situation would be created of a British colony governed by foreigners. Such a situation could not continue. It would at once necessitate the stultification of past policy by the withdrawal of the Indian franchise and the tardy adoption of the policy now advocated by the white settlers, at the cost of an incalculable amount of friction and disorganisation.

If it were decided to surrender Kenya, the Indian might bolster up his rule for a while with troops drawn from the fighting races of India, perhaps long enough for the inpouring flood of his great numbers to engulf Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, where the White racial hold is still weak. He would probably intermarry with the African as long ago he did with the negroid tribes of Southern India, so adding a bastard breed to the horrors of his misrule. Before long the African would rise against an oppressor he despises, but lacking the power of combination he would not easily sweep the Indian wholesale from so wide a territory. Probably mongrelised Africa would relapse into a state of rebellion and revolution like that of the mongrel tropics of America.

If India seceded by violent methods without Great Britain's consent, she would forthwith become a chaos of internal wars, —the various races which inhabit India destroying each other, as they did before the British came and spent over one hundred years on the foredoomed task of giving European minds to Asiatics. The losing side would probably appeal to Japan for assistance. Japan would agree, and India would discover that she had exchanged the White yoke for the Yellow.

Equatorial Africa being in hopeless confusion, the Yellow Race would be tempted to cross the Indian Ocean and seize the strategic centre of the great continent. Africa exploited by Indians and under the military control of Japan would be finally lost to the White Race. Her 120 million natives would be brought under the influence of the Yellow Race, and her trade would be deflected into Eastern Channels.

The idea of an understanding between India and Japan has been present in the minds of both peoples since the Japanese victory over Russia in 1906. The press in both countries has voiced it, and the Japanese invitation to Indian students to attend her universities has been accepted. To quote one instance; Count Okuma writing in connection with the Indo-Japanese Association's propaganda in 1907 said:—

> "Being oppressed by the Europeans, the 300 million people of India are looking for Japanese protection. They have commenced to boycott European merchandise. If, therefore, the Japanese let the chance slip by and do not go to India, the Indians will be disappointed. From old times, India has been a land of treasure. Alexander the Great obtained there treasures sufficient to load a hundred camels, and Mahmoud and Attila also obtained riches from India. Why should not the Japanese stretch out their hands towards that country, now that the people are looking to the Japanese? The Japanese ought to go to India, the South Ocean, and other parts of the world."
>
> (Literary Digest, March 5, 1910, p. 429.)

White East Africans have been exhorted "not to lose sight of broad Imperial issues"; they have had the relations of African to Indian affairs brought home to them by the active interference of the Indian Government in the internal

affairs of their Colony; and they have been invited to sacrifice themselves and the millions of their dependent African natives to appease Indian ambitions. As they share Mr. H. G. Wells' opinion that "it is no more presumptuous to think for the Race than it is for a beggar to pray," they feel justified under the circumstances in essaying to put forward an alternative policy. That policy is the segregation of the primary races of mankind by Continents.

Such a policy seeks its justification in the indisputable facts which a survey of the present day World discloses. The material progress of the Nineteenth Century has permitted the population of the World to increase vastly beyond all previously known figures, and the increase continues. The resulting pressure impelling crowded populations to seek expansion is enormous, and grows more intense. The sudden conversion of the Ocean from an impassable barrier into an open road has destroyed the ancient isolation of races, and brought the shores of the most remote regions within the reach of the mother country of mankind. The more densely industrialised countries can no longer produce sufficient food for their teeming populations, nor sufficient raw material for the needs of the immense industries, which by augmenting employment have brought those populations into existence. Such countries must possess assured control over supplies of food and raw materials from other less densely crowded countries, or starve. Other countries which machine industry has not yet reached to any appreciable extent, have by rapid breeding produced a density of population which in the grim struggle for survival lives daily face to face with famine. Such countries imperatively need additional land in which by settlement they can relieve the miseries of their people. The quality of human life differs vastly between different branches of each race, and between the many strata which make up each nation. Those types of mankind which possess in the highest degree the most valuable qualities, the creative faculty and the highest development of mind and spirit, require for their survival a more favourable environment than the less valuable, quicker breeding types. The White Race faces the grim struggle for survival exhausted by the four years of the most devastating Civil War which the World has seen, and handicapped by an incalculable loss of the finest racial types, of numbers and of

wealth; while the chief competitor for room to live, the Asiatic, profits in added confidence, knowledge and wealth by the madness which has smitten the White Race.

At this epoch-making crisis in the history of the World, where fecund, cheap living quantity, threatens to obliterate slow breeding, aspiring quality, mankind is confronted with two alternatives:—to watch while Asia casts off White political control, and the Asiatic torrent overwhelms smaller White racial colonies, and the non-Asiatic tropics; to wait until that torrent, gathering momentum in its course, flings itself against the barriers of the White home countries; and then at the last, compelled thereto by the sheer instinct of self preservation, to wage the inevitable race war of inconceivable intensity and magnitude:—or to act at once, seeking by agreement to frame some understanding which may save the World from catastrophe.

May not the partition of the World into spheres of racial influence which broadly will follow the lines of segregation of the White and Asiatic races by continents* offer a via media which may save mankind from chaos and lead to peace?

A special triumph of the Nineteenth Century was that the nations of the White Race were able to reach among themselves an agreement defining national "spheres of influence" in Colonial expansion, thereby eliminating a common cause of War. The "Partition of Africa" and the contemplated "Partition of China" are examples, and the acceptance of the idea which underlay such understandings marked an important forward step in the evolution of International relations.

It now lies with the Twentieth century to carry on the work begun in the Nineteenth by taking the next forward step which leads towards the peace of the World. In the last Century the White nations competed with each other for room to expand, in this the races crowd upon each other in a world which ever grows smaller, and the partition of the earth's surface becomes imperative if peace is to be preserved.

* In case exception is taken to this conception as too grandiose, it is submitted that it is implicit in the whole of the Montagu-Chelmsford programme, and is a logically necessary extension of the principle underlying it.

An understanding, to have any hope of gaining the acceptance of such bitter rivals as the White Race and the Asiatic, must preserve to each its vital needs and aspirations. It must call for renunciations, but only such as can be tolerated.

The paramount needs and aspirations of the White Race are to secure immunity from Asiatic immigration, to fulfil its responsibilities towards non-Asiatic dependent peoples, and to control a sufficient supply of the raw material of industry.

And the undeniable cravings of the renascent Asiatic Races are for freedom for Asiatic Home-countries from external control, and liberty to evolve their own civilisations and to develop the resources of their country in their own way, which are the imprescriptible rights of all peoples endowed with constructive powers.

All these fundamental needs are met by the via media of segregation by Continents, which would allot to the White Race, Europe, North and South America, Australia and New Zealand and Africa; and to the Asiatic, Asia, the vastest of the continents.

The renunciations asked for would be that the White Race should gradually withdraw its political control from Asiatic countries, and that the Asiatic should abandon the demand for immigration into countries settled by the White Race, and into non-Asiatic countries where the White Race had assumed responsibility for dependent peoples. Into the latter category fall Central and South America, from the southern boundary of the United States to the northern boundary of Argentina, and Africa.

The renunciations asked of the White Race entail the sacrifice of a certain measure of that intangible but precious thing, prestige, and of a certain measure of profitable commerce,—both valuable, but neither vital:—those asked of the Asiatic Races are that they will direct the expansion of their population to the development of Asia's immense resources and leave to other races the homes they have built and the wildernesses they have reclaimd in other continents. Moreover, such renunciation will be the more readily understood in Asia, because already the more highly organised

Asiatic nations have themselves been forced to acknowledge the necessity of restricting immigration. Japan has been obliged in self-defence to pass strict immigration exclusion laws against the immigration of Chinese and Koreans into her territories, because their cheap labour was destroying the economic foundations of her national life by undercutting Japanese labour.

So far Asiatic expansion has aimed at appropriating the results of work done by the White Race. It seeks to harvest where it has not sown. The White Race has opened the trail and the Asiatic has followed at a safe distance in its wake. And now the exploiting races, thronging behind, seek to obliterate the footprints of the Pioneer.

But since Asia claims independence by virtue of her reawakened constructive powers, the time has come when she must shoulder the responsibilities to which her demand gives rise. Since she is so sure that she can walk unaided, she need no longer ask the White Race to carry her on its back. The vast Continent of Asia, though in parts densely populated, holds great areas of rich land both sparsely peopled and barely touched by development. Siberia, Persia and Mesopotamia contain some of the great store-houses of the ancient world, and have supported great civilised populations. To restore them to their former prosperity offers huge scope to the constructive powers of the growing populations of the Asiatic Races.

Even the crowded areas, India and China, stand in need of further development. Both countries are studded with ruined irrigation works which once made fertile and populous land which is to-day abandoned. The White Race has reclaimed many arid areas, but many more only await the coming of the reborn energy of the Asiatic Races to support prosperous populations. Machine industry, organised by the clever brains and operated with the industrious hands of free-born Asiatic millions, will so augment employment that the cities of the East will become yet greater and provide a higher standard of living for their inhabitants. With that higher standard of living will come the inevitable sense of responsibility which prompts highly civilised communities to set a limit to reckless

procreation. And in that limiting lies the final solution of the problem of the over-population of the World.

The suggested method of partitioning the Globe divides the White race from the Asiatic world by the spaces of the sea at all points save two. Those two, the land frontier between Europe and Asia, and the Isthmus of Suez between Asia and Africa, are vulnerable points, and on them the attention of the militarised nations will centre. Elsewhere the Ocean provides barriers at once against military aggression and the more dreaded peaceful migration; and an open thoroughfare for the exchange of commerce.

The principal effects of the partition of the World on the British Empire would be two—gradual withdrawal of political control from India, and security in Africa.

India is held in right of conquest by military force for two purposes; the first, material,—her profitable trade; and the second, altruistic,—the welfare of her people. But there will come a time when these two purposes will become irreconcilably opposed to one another.

The Dual Mandate of Sir Frederick Lugard, which he states to be the duty of reconciling "the dual responsibilities of the Controlling Powers in the Tropics, namely, as Trustees of civilisation for the adequate development of their resources and as Trustees for the welfare of native races," applies with the same force to Asia as to Africa, and should be taken as the guide in considering measures leading towards withdrawal from India. For the sake of India herself and the World at large, the withdrawal should be gradual to insure that it is orderly: and both the protection of India's untried independence and wider Eastern interests might make desirable the temporary or permanent retention of points of World strategical importance.

The facts of the situation, faced with candour, show that the hour of decision is not far off, be it five or ten or twenty years. The British nation has placed its store of knowledge ungrudgingly at the disposal of India: science, law, politics, trade, industrial methods—nothing has been withheld. The Government has established peace, maintained order, fought disease and famine, and administered impartial justice. The

Indian mind has been fired, memories of a great past have awakened, self-confidence has been engendered, and a burning desire for freedom has seized the leaders of thought. "If there is unrest," says Lugard, "and a desire of independence, . . . it is because we have taught the nature of liberty and freedom, which for centuries these people had not known. Their very discontent is a measure of their progress." To meet the popular clamour, the British Government has instituted reform after reform, each granting a further instalment of self-government, and all pointing to one end. The Indian leaders think that reform comes too slowly; and a bitterness against foreign political control has arisen, which grows from day to day and shows itself in many violent forms, until it has become only a question of the exact moment when the end will come. Feeling having reached its present pitch, the longer the time of waiting, the more bitter will be the separation, and the relations which will exist after it has taken place.

From the altruistic point of view, the people of the United Kingdom must rejoice at the thoroughness with which India has digested their teachings; and as soon as they are satisfied that she can stand alone, which will be judged by the violence and volume of her clamour, they will have no choice but to set her free.

From the materialistic point of view, India should be held down by force; and indeed, it is not easy to meet the arguments of those who maintain that in such a policy lies the only hope of security and welfare for the Indian peoples. The British Nation however has presumably travelled too far in the opposite direction to retrace her steps at this stage; and it is to be doubted if she would tolerate the coercion of 315 million people whom she had trained for self-government, even if it were practicable to hold down so vast a multitude by force, when that multitude is inspired by a common ideal, and united (at any rate for the time) by a common hatred of the foreigner. Moreover, commercialism has much to gain by the freedom of India. The present bitterness injures foreign trade, whereas, that bitterness gone, the innate business instinct of the Indian would incline him to buy in the cheapest market, whether native or foreign.

Indian politicians have foreshadowed the setting up of protective tariffs against British goods if India were granted full Dominion status free of all "incongruities". The bitterness with which they write indicates that they are more concerned to injure British than to advance Indian trade interests; and that they look upon a protective tariff solely as a more effective form of boycott. But if the full independence of India were achieved, it is certain that India, like other free nations, would soon come to pursue the quest of economic advantage regardless of sentiment, and the tariffs she would impose would not be dictated by vindictive motives, as would be the case were her ambitions unfulfilled.

The other form of material interest in India, that of the planter, is similarly situated; its personnel are sojourners, not settlers; and the capital invested in it could be safeguarded by covenant in the event of a voluntary withdrawal of political control; or if it were desired to continue its investment, it would be less insecure in a contented India than in the India of to-day.

Shorn of euphemisms, the choice lies between forced or voluntary withdrawal of political control of India.

The whole of the Indian claims in Kenya are based on, and must stand or fall with, the idea of Dominion Status within the Empire. This however is a compromise which will not bear close examination. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's argument, quoted above (p. 25), is of particular importance in this connection, not only from its intrinsic cogency, but because it reveals with engaging frankness the true mind of reputedly moderate Indian thinkers on the subject. It is clear that India would only accept Dominion Status as an instalment of what she wants: but independence of the British connection, which is her ultimate aim, is obviously inconsistent with the granting of equal rights to Indians in Kenya. The spokesmen of Kenya Indians are doubtless prepared incontinently to repudiate Mr. Pal; but unfortunately it is not open to them to do so, as they have repeatedly vaunted their approval of the exponents of even more advanced views, such as the notorious Tilak.

To expose the fallacy of the "equality of status" theory, it is only necessary to assume that the relations of the races are reversed. In an Empire composed of 55 million Indians and 315 million Britons, and governed by democratic institu-

tions, it is safe to say that the British control would be invincible, and the Empire would in fact be a British Empire. If then an Empire of 55 million Britons and 315 million Indians fail in fact to become an Indian Empire, there must needs be a difference between the qualities of British and Indian. But to admit that difference is fatal to the whole conception of "Equality of Status," and justifies the existence of an "incongruity" in the position of India within the British Empire.

Briefly summarised, the salient factors which make up the problem of India are these. Foreign political control was established by the use of material force for the furtherance of purely material ends, and later has been maintained for many years as a dual purpose trusteeship, for the development of India's material resources and the welfare of her people. It has achieved a large measure of success, and by reason of that success it has brought about those results which are inseparable from success when such a trusteeship is exercised successfully for the benefit of a numerous and intelligent people, possessing a great historical past:—India's resources have been so efficiently developed, and the enlightenment of her people has followed such a course, that her political leaders, supported by the great body of educated native opinion, believe that she can stand alone, and demand independence.

Foreign political control must always rest either on force or on the acquiescence of the people controlled. Acquiescence has disappeared from India, except among certain numerically insignificant groups.* Henceforward therefore foreign political control can rest on force alone.

This conclusion seems undeniable, and it leaves two courses open to the people of the United Kingdom:—to hold India by force, thereby imposing upon her a glaring "incongruity" as compared with the White Self-governing Dominions,—or to acquiesce in her demand for independence.

Up to this point the problem of India is unconnected with the maintenance of White Supremacy in Africa, and remains a question between India and the United Kingdom, (probably

* E.g., the Ruling Princes, who, many of them being themselves the descendants of conquering invaders, and depending to a large extent on the exercise of personal autocratic power, find themselves in a position analogous to that of the British Raj, and consequently threatened equally with it by the growth of the democratic spirit.

in consultation with the chief component parts of the British Commonwealth), which will doubtless be decided on the merits of the case as they affect the parties mainly concerned. Either of the courses indicated would rid Kenya of her present peril, the former by destroying the Equality of Status theory, and the latter by causing Indians to become foreigners. The question is not one on which East Africans are called on to offer an opinion at this stage, but it is impossible to refrain from speculating as to what choice will be made in so important a matter: and it may be assumed to be improbable that the United Kingdom will make up its mind to reverse the definitely liberal policy which it has followed for nearly three generations. In that case the choice will lie between Dominion Status and Independence for India.

It is with the compromise policy of Dominion Status that every self-governing Dominion, Colony and Protectorate is concerned, because this dangerous fallacy vitally affects each one of them, and particularly Kenya, which has been selected as the acid test of British sincerity towards India. The definite shape which this compromise has taken is a heritage from the strain of the years before and immediately after the end of the great Civil War, when overwrought British statesmen were glad to grasp at any expedient, however opportunist, which promised to relieve them for a while of one of their many embarrassments. It was seized upon readily by the more astute Indian political leaders as a means to their ideal end, for they quickly realised that through it they could create a situation so intolerable to the white British Commonwealth that the grant of full independence to India would come to be regarded as a welcome relief. The frank acceptance of India as a self-governing Dominion with "the rights of freedom of the Empire as Australia has, as Canada has, as England has to-day"* is repugnant to every Briton outside the United Kingdom, because (unless such inherent differences between the quality of Indian and Briton are admitted as would stultify India's claim to Equality of Status) the power given by a low standard of living and democratic institutions to the millions of India would bring it to pass that if India were accorded such freedom of the Empire, "the Empire would cease to be British".*

* *Vide* Mr. B. C. Pal. *Supra* p. 27.

East Africans believe that the calmer consideration which the return to more normal times allows will convince British statesmen that this fallacy must be abandoned, both because of the grave consequences which adherence to it would produce in relation to the self-governing Dominions, and also because the harmful results of allowing Asiatic penetration are certain and definite, while the hope that an unnatural partnership with an Asiatic country can be maintained in spite of the hostility of that Asiatic partner and her determination to achieve full independence, is at best uncertain and problematical.

Security in Africa, the other chief effect on the British Empire of the partition of the World, holds out very different prospects for the European Powers controlling territories in Africa.

As in India, so in Africa, the British Empire has accepted the same "Dual Mandate", which is in part altruistic, and in part materialistic; but important differences exist in the results which will accrue from its fulfilment.

Two fundamental factors give assurance, so far as can be seen at present, that the faithful discharge of the altruistic mission points to the permanence of white tutelage, and forbids its withdrawal. It has been shown that the Black Race possesses imitative but lacks constructive powers, characteristics which justify Lugard's judgment that for the native African "the era of complete independence is not yet visible on the horizon of time." The Controlling Powers may, therefore, aim at advancing the Black Race as far along the road of progress as its capacity allows, without misgivings that the success of their endeavours will lead to a demand for their withdrawal, entailing loss of prestige and trade. No apprehensions of future loss need tempt them to commit the error of which Lugard says: "it would be the negation of progress to fasten down upon the African his own past." The other factor, of which mention has already been made, is that the White Race has established itself firmly by settlement, and that the area and distribution of settlements are spreading. Over and above the true highland regions, which by their outstanding advantages attract early settlement, there exist many productive areas into which colonisation will spread when the

highlands proper are fully populated. To those who have seen what has been accomplished in the older colonies, this is not a matter of doubt, and it can be accomplished without displacing the indigenous tribes. The native population is great, and will increase rapidly under white control; but compared with the huge area and generally high fertility of the continent, it is sparse, leaving large regions almost uninhabited. Native development has been limited by its primitive resources, but the advent of civilised methods will throw open vast tracts which will support immense populations.

In considering the causes which prompted the white penetration of India, it has been shewn that the needs of commerce played a prominent part; and so it is in Africa. Lugard makes this plain when he says:—

> "Let it be admitted at the outset that European brains, capital and energy, have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal; and that it is the aim and desire of civilised administration to fulfil this dual mandate."

The development of British territories in Africa opens up a vista of commercial expansion so endless that calculated description is difficult. The bare facts are that the area of these territories is 4,000,000 square miles, as compared with India's 1,900,000; that India's overseas trade is about £350,000,000, and British Africa's (excluding Egypt) is about £292,000,000; that the non-self-governing territories, whose total area is 2,628,498 square miles, already produce an overseas trade of £76,500,000, although their development can hardly be said to have begun; that the average fertility and mineral wealth of their soil are at least equal to those of any other great land mass; that they hold an intelligent fast-breeding native population of about 60 millions, waiting for guidance to engage in the production of the raw materials of industry and food stuffs; and that white settlement co-operating with the native populations does stimulate production many hundreds of times, and does bring about a demand for manufactured articles out of all proportion to its numerical

strength. The truth of this was clearly illustrated in an example quoted by the Treasurer of Kenya Colony when introducing a recent colonial loan. He showed that the export and import trade of a typical settled area with a population of not more than 500 colonists aided by their native farm hands, equalled that of a typical native area populated by over a million of the best native tribe in the Colony.

Africa must for long remain a continent of primary production; and the value of the rapidly increasing volume of her exports of raw materials will be followed by a corresponding increase in her imports of manufactured articles. Lugard says of African trade:—"the democracies of to-day claim the right to work, and the satisfaction of that claim is impossible without the raw materials of the tropics on the one hand, and their markets on the other." And again he says:—"Europe was impelled to the development of Africa primarily by the necessities of her people, and not by the greed of the capitalist."

But Africa needs more than British goods; she offers a great variety of openings to the people of the United Kingdom. Sir Frederick sees the position thus:—"The abounding progress of our tropical dependencies calls not only for millions of pounds' worth of railway and other construction material, but for men to construct and maintain the railways and other works. The expansion of administration equally demands officers for every branch, administrative, medical, educational, etc. The development of commerce requires local agents. The opening of minefields calls for expert workers. In all these fields of activity, openings are afforded to every class of the youth of England, whether from the universities, the technical schools, or the workshops. It is difficult to realise how severe would be the blow to the life of the nation if these thousands of avenues to independent initiative and individual enterprise were closed, as Germany has largely closed them to her people by her crime against the world."

The rapid development of Africa which is now taking place will yearly absorb more and more men. And there is another and wider opening than any named by Sir Frederick Lugard, who was writing with West Africa mainly in his mind. It is the urgent call to the United Kingdom for settlers,—men who will make Africa their home, not mere sojourners.

White racial settlement is the foundation of progress in Africa, and the guarantee of its continuity; and the final responsibility for the fulfilment of the Dual Mandate will fall on the white colonist.

This conclusion is driven home by the logic of existing conditions. The shortcomings of political control have demonstrated themselves in other parts of the Empire. Some of them do not apply with equal force to Africa, but enough are present to make the system undesirable wherever racial settlement can be established. Among the chief are want of continuity, and want of that close contact which breeds an understanding sympathy for the native and provides the means of helping him. White men who have made Africa their home quickly realise that their sphere and that of the native are complemental, not competitive; that the prosperity of both is inextricably bound together; and that the success of both depends upon harmonious relations. Sure of these facts, settlers of necessity take a long view of native policy. To satisfy the need of the moment is not sufficient; they have to think of the effects of their policy in the life-times of the generations which they hope will follow them. The African on his part studies and copies the white settler and his methods, and to a greater or lesser degree each homestead becomes a school, both mental and technical. There is no factor more encouraging in this new Colony than the progress which those tribes have made who have been in contact with white settlement, and it is in marked contrast with that of those who are more remote. Fifteen years ago it was rare to find a farm hand capable of being entrusted with responsible duties; now every farm possesses several. Natives are slow to change their methods, but the evidence of superior results which the settlers' farms keep continually before them is beginning to produce marked improvement in the quality, quantity and variety of the crops they grow. In the details of their lives the same process is going on. Farm hands of some years standing are beginning to build good cottages, with windows and doors of normal height; they cultivate European vegetables on European methods in neatly fenced gardens; they eat a grater variety of foods; they cook them better and use more utensils; they wear more clothes, and are more sanitary in their habits. All these are little things, such as may be expected in so new a Colony; but they are indicative of progress. It is in the

northern and southern strongholds of colonisation that its results can be best appreciated. The Glen Grey Act and its amendments, and the Native Affairs Act of 1920, in the Union of South Africa, and the fraternisation of French and Berbers in Algeria, are achievements which only the insight given by settlement could accomplish. The same must be said of the effort of the Missionary. His task is beset with difficulties, and demands as insistently a far-sighted policy, and security of tenure in which to carry it out.

To state the obvious truth that settlement is a surer method than political control must not be construed as disparagement of the work of the African Civil Services. They have worked unremittingly to discharge the Dual Mandate; but they are handicapped by the inherent defects of the system,—changes of station and of personnel, fewer opportunities of continuous contact and of practical instruction, and interference from imperfectly informed office men and changing political Ministers. The argument is that settlement should be encouraged and established wherever possible, having proper regard for native rights to lands, and that settlers, Missionaries and Civil Servants should co-operate for the advancement of the common aim,—the progressive development of Africa. Such co-operation already exists, and is perfecting itself as the acquisition of fuller knowledge enables misconceptions to be removed.

It cannot be reasonably disputed that the fulfilment of the Dual Mandate in Africa, which the British Nation has accepted, promises altruistic and materialistic triumphs, in services rendered to mankind and in commercial wealth, which will more than balance the loss incurred by the gradual withdrawal from India.

Owing to the absence of a definite policy shaped fearlessly on a broad survey of world conditions, the discharge of this great trust may miscarry, because India, on the eve of an open breach, makes a last use of her incongruous position in the British Empire to demand equality of status for her nationals in Kenya, the main gate of Eastern Equatorial Africa.

Should India be successful in her demands, the fulfilment of the Dual Mandate by the British Nation would be rendered impossible. An Asiatic Race, differing irreconcilably from the White Races, in every essential ideal, and clinging to its ideals

with all the tenacity inspired by an ancient and not inglorious tradition, would be thrust between the British Nation and the African peoples. An element competitive with both British and Africans would be introduced, and this would destroy the existing complemental relationship which undisturbed promises to achieve so much for the regeneration of Africa.

The first victim of Indian competition is the African. The Indian supplants him in trade and as an artizan and clerk, both in government and private employ; and discourages efforts to train him by his mere presence and by active means. By a system of advances in cash or kind, the Indian trader-money-lender is gradually reducing the native producer to a state of economic serfdom; and this process would proceed more rapidly had the Asiatic a larger share in government. Too often he spreads sedition and anti-white propaganda among the natives, encourages crime and introduces diseases. He offers to the native a debased form of Mohammedanism, dangerous alike from its political activities, and because, like the spurious Christianity of the Ethiopian church, it makes a more direct appeal to the cruder elements of the Africans nature than the more lofty ideals of genuine Christianity. With the spread of the Asiatic, it is certain that Christianity would be driven out.

The white man encounters Asiatic competition primarily in the sphere of politics, where the Indian through his numbers seeks to utilise democratic institutions for his own ends. It has been shown that in this Colony he would, if admitted to the franchise, in all probability gain full control of government in less then ten years. Asiatic domination is a thing that no British Colony can accept, in the interests either of the individual or of the nation. It means withdrawal or economic slavery for the individual, and the loss of white settled territory to the nation and the White Race. Madison Grant drives this truth home from the Race point of view when he says:—

> "Democratic ideals among an homogeneous population of Nordic blood, as in England and America, are one thing; but it is quite another for the white man to share his blood with, or intrust his ideals to, brown, yellow, black, or red men.
>
> "This is suicide pure and simple, and the first victim of this amazing folly will be the white man himself."
>
> (Introduction to "The Rising Tide of Colour," p. xxxii)

The effect on the individual is thus described by an Australian contributor to the Westminster Review, (quoted by Stoddard on p. 275 of "The Rising Tide of Colour"):—

> "The coloured races become agencies of economic disturbance and social degradation. They sap and destroy the upward tendencies of the poorer whites. The latter, instead of always having something better to look at and strive after, have a lower standard of living, health, and cleanliness set before them, and the results are disastrous. They sink to the lower level of the Asiatics, and the degrading tendency proceeds upwards by saturation, affecting several grades of society. . . . There is an insidious, yet irresistible, process of social degradation. The coloured race does not intentionally, or even consciously, lower the European; it simply happens so, by virtue of a natural law which neither race can control. As debased coinage will drive out good currency, so a lowered standard of living will inexorably spread until its effects are universally felt."

At the present time the Indian offers some economic conveniences, and only competes along the fringe of white activities. But should he once obtain political control, the whole situation would change. By legislation discriminating against the White Race, he would stifle European trade and production, he would fill the Civil Service with his nationals, and he would drive the farmers from the land by his favourite methods of mortgage and foreclosure, planting in their stead colonies of agricultural serfs from India. During the interim period between the granting of "equality of status" and his gaining control of government, the supplanting process would go on at a steadily increasing rate. Quite apart from political ambitions and race bitterness imported from India, "the East can always underlive the West." The Indian points to this with pride as evidence of "The Survival of the Fittest," forgetting that "Fittest" means most suited to exist in a given environment. If the environment be bad, low forms of life are best suited to it. It is the Indian's ability to exist in a low environment on a low standard of living which gives him his power to supplant the higher forms of human life. The White Race aims at "the Survival of the Best." This entails a good environment and a high standard of living, and such a specialised form of Human Life needs protection, if the Quality of Human Life is to be

maintained and raised yet higher. The parallel exists through all Nature. Weeds are not more valuable than wheat, nor yet a higher form of vegetable life; but they would kill out the wheat unless the wheat had been protected by means designed to destroy the weeds.

The chief components of the competitive Asiatic element are a system of government liberal in outward form but at heart despotic, venal Courts, oriental religions, polygamy, oppressive land tenure and usurious trade; all manipulated by a race obsequious to the rich, tyrannical to the poor, and without experience in the government of subject peoples.

Incredible as it may seem, there are prominent men in the United Kingdom who have seriously proposed to replace British rule and Christianity with these substitutes.

And what is the reason for their strange attitude? Surely not the vain hope of gaining a brief respite in which Lancashire may earn an extra dividend on Indian trade, before India compels the altruists to admit that the end of their policy is secession?

In such a policy there is evident neither statesmanship nor commercial foresight, nor any idea of abstract justice to warrant the grant of equality of status to Indians in Kenya.

If the people of the United Kingdom decide to hold India by force against the will of India, then Indians cannot be regarded as free citizens of the Empire; if they decide that the time has come to set India free, then her people will be foreigners; and if they decide to delay somewhat the liberation of India, it is folly to grant citizenship to remove an incongruity, when that incongruity will presently remove itself.

The one course which is not open to the people of the United Kingdom is to retain Indian indefinitely as a willing partner with Dominion status; because the aspirations of India have rejected it, and because the lesser cannot contain the greater, when democratic institutions place power on the count of heads.

British commerce has only to compare the probabilities of Indian and African trade to decide in favour of retaining the latter; area for area, fertility for fertility, the advantage is with Africa.

Further, British merchants have these points to consider. The British share of Indian trade is influenced among others by two factors,—the growth of Indian industrialism, and the temper of the Indian people. Indian industrialism will follow its course independently of the political status of India; but if the Indian invasion of Africa succeeds, the raw material of Africa will be deflected to India to feed Indian factories, and will aid them in their competition against British manufactured articles in India, in the East, and in Africa.

The bitter feeling engendered in India against the continuance of British political control has to a limited extent exercised an adverse effect on British trade and British capital invested in India, and has assisted the Indian manufacturer and the foreign trade rivals of the United Kingdom. Were this bitterness to disappear, an adverse factor which militates against British trade and capital would be removed. Therefore, if the price of repulsing the Indian invasion of Africa should prove to be the liberation of India, British commercial and financial interests might gain by it.

With African trade there are no probabilities to weigh, for the issue is simple. If the Indian invasion of Africa succeeds, the raw materials and markets of the continent will be diverted into Indian hands, whether India is free or whether she lingers on as a nominal partner in the British Empire. If the Indian invasion is repulsed, Africa's raw materials and markets will be at the disposal of he United Kingdom, and the development of her vast resources will afford profitable employment for British capital and men, to the incalculable advantage of all classes in the United Kingdom, capitalist and workman alike.

In the sphere of statesmanship; it does not seem logical to train India for one hundred years for self-government, and then to deny the aspirations purposely engendered, on the ground that the Indians have learnt their lesson so well that they see the inherent fallacy of Dominion Status and demand the logical goal of their education,—independence; it does not seem honest to assume the trusteeship of millions of backward Africans and then to abdicate in favour of an Asiatic race: it does not seem courageous to give way to the clamour of a section which demands the privileges, but repudiates the duties, attaching to the burden of Empire; it does not seem wise to surrender a strategic centre of world production to exploitation by the sweated labour of

Asia, thereby probably increasing unemployment in the United Kingdom:—and it seems the madness of race suicide that this betrayal of a vast continent, with its indigenous peoples of superabundant vitality and its virile white racial settlements should be brought about, not by the might of Asia, the ancient enemy of the White Race, but by the misuse of the power of the United Kingdom.

White East Africans, believing that the present trend of events is the drift of political opportunism on the eddying current of racial unrest, and in view of their own jeopardy, have ventured to formulate a policy,—the Partition of the world. They realise that its immediate realisation is impracticable, but they submit that it furnishes a chart by which the ship of Empire may be navigated.

They believe that a solution of their own local Indian question will not be hard to find, once the spectre of the secession of India is laid.

The Indians of Kenya are mostly sojourners, engrossed in accumulating sufficient money to enable them to retire to India in comfort. The great majority are without political aspirations, and are averse from political agitation, fearing that it may react on their ability to amass money; but they are in many cases financially dependent on a small group of wealthy Indians who cherish political ambitions. These capitalists, through their power as landlords and money-lenders, coerce their poorer compatriots into silent acquiescence. Various attempts have been made by this inarticulate mass to break away from the extremists; and deputations of workmen have waited on the leaders, petitioning them to desist, because political agitation is creating bitterness which endangers their livelihood. The extremist clique has answered that they must not meddle with things above their station, and the agitation continues regardless of the wish of the great majority. The agitation is manipulated by a few ambitious local Indians and paid agitators imported from India for the purpose; it is financed from India; it is in no sense spontaneous, or representative of the general feeling of the Indian community.

The enacting of Immigration Laws on the lines of those adopted in the self-governing Dominions would probably end the Indian problem in the course of a few years by the voluntary

return to India of the enriched sojourners, and by preventing a fresh supply from landing.* The cessation of immigration, by killing the ambitions of India and of the local extremist clique, would put an end to the engineered demand for enfranchisement, and permit of such liberal treatment being given to the dwindling remainder of the domiciled community as would ensure the fair representation of their views, and satisfy the sober-minded among them. To protect the white East Africans from the recurrence of the present crisis, which has ruinously retarded the Colony's progress, safeguards would be necessary. They could be provided by somewhat accelerating the constitutional process by which the Colony will reach the status of a self-governing British Colony; and would take the form of the grant of a substantial measure of self-government, of which an elected unofficial European majority would be an instalment.

The Indian agitation, which has now been going on for many years, became intense in the spring of 1921 as the result of Indian intrigues to reverse the Milner Policy of 1920, in which the white East Africans had at the request of the Governor, Sir Edward Northey, acquiesced as a temporary measure. Appreciating the embarrassments of the Imperial Government, caused by the growing unrest in India, particularly during the tour of the Prince of Wales, the white East Africans have exercised great patience and moderation, often going the length of prejudicing their own cause in order to comply with requests made to them by their Governors. They have now had more than two years in which to study the question in all bearings and to weigh the cost of each line of conduct which is open to them.

Their resolve, taken calmly and without haste, is that in no circumstances will they accept the principle of Equality of Status, nor any compromise which contains a trace of that dangerous fallacy.

It will be observed that the weight of the Indian attack is directed against Kenya, and it is worth while to examine the reason of this, and why Indian political leaders describe the surrender to them of this Colony as the acid test of the Imperial Government's sincerity to India.

* The 1921 Census shows, (1) that only 25% of the Asiatic population was born in Kenya and adjoining Protectorates, (2) that of these 81% are under 16 years of age, and (3) that there are only 323 females per 1,000 of the population.

The Union of South Africa has closed her doors to Indians, and so has Rhodesia. Entry to Portuguese East Africa would have no political value. Tanganyika is a Mandated Territory, therefore entry there has no political significance. The Somalilands, besides being dangerous, are without political rights for immigrants.

There remains only Kenya where the conditions sought by India exist:—a political system holding promise of that "equality of Status," which she covets as a means of gaining entry throughout the Empire; and economic conditions which would permit of immigration on so grand a scale as to enable the foundation of an Asiatic state strong enough to insure the gradual permeation of the continent and to effect such a dilution of white rule as would put an end to White Supremacy in Africa.

The one obstacle to the ambitions of India is the presence of 10,000 white East Africans, who realise that a supreme crisis is thrust upon them.

Three courses are open to them,—To submit,—To awaken the British Empire to the danger,—or to resist single-handed. The first is unthinkable: the second has been and is their most earnest desire; and the third they are determined to follow in the last resort. They have counted the cost, and it is heavy; but knowing what issues are involved, their common national instinct leaves them no choice.

In this way it comes about that Kenya is the Thermopylae of Africa. But there is a tragic difference. Our defence against the unaided Asiatic is safe: our fear is not that the power of the Mother Country may arrive too late, but that it may appear as an irresistible reinforcement to the Asiatic invaders.

ABSTRACT OF ARGUMENT.

PAGE

1—2. Answer of East Africans to appeal to think Imperially. Importance of Quality of human life.

3. Their Policy must be justified to (a) Dominions (b) United Kingdom.

3—4. (a) *Dominions* shown to have adopted E. A. policy in advance. Imperial Conference resolutions quoted.

5. South Africa's "exceptional circumstances" present in Kenya's case in aggravated form.

6. (b) *United Kingdom* harder to convince because of remoteness, etc.

6. Standing Joint Committee's indiscretions.

7. British people could not grant Indians in Britain equal status if numbers of respective races in same proportion as in Kenya.

8. Historical résumé showing recentness of White world supremacy.

9. White hold on Asia political, not racial. Political control without racial settlement ephemeral.

10. Thinness of the film of White political control. 6/7ths of Globe controlled by 1/22nd of White Race.

10—11. Renaissance of Asia. Recrudescence of Asiatic impulse to invade. White man's doctrinaire altruism is Asia's chief ally. White political control in Asia doomed. But invasion of colonies must be checked.

12. Territories that are permanent homes of White settlement safe; contest will centre on lands with indigenous populations where white settlements exist. Of these Africa the chief.

12. Importance of Africa; strategic position, fertility, man-power.

13—14. White settlement in Africa not transitory as in Asia, because African lacks constructive genius.

15. White control in Asia, political; in Africa, founded on settlement. Southern Africa, Algeria and Kenya its bases.

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16. African's disabilities necessitate external control:—European: or Asiatic—(a) Arab, or (b) Indian.

17. (a) Islam, the *Arab's* weapon of invasion.

17. Islam militant in N. Africa, non-militant in E. and Equatorial Africa. Its hostility would be allayed if White control withdrawn from Asia.

17—18. Christianity as an antidote to Pan-Islamism.

19. Mischievous influence of Indian Mohammedans.

19. (b) *Indian* invasion more insidious than Arab, and protected by England.

20. Indians demand equal status. Mr. Sastri's resolution quoted.

20. Attitude of English statesmen weak; too much concerned with India, not enough with Africa.

21. Indian claim of priority of settlement unfounded.

21. Unfortunate record of Indians in Africa; abettors of slave trade.

22. Their remarkable war services.

22. Their anti-European machinations.

23—24. Forecast of happenings if their claims were granted; they might capture machinery of Government in about six years.

25. This would logically necessitate grant of full self-government to India.

25—28. Which means separation,—(Dominion status proved impracticable by leading Indian writer)—the very object, to avert which surrender is being counselled.

28. Resultant chaos in Africa,

29. and in India, where losing factions would probably secure assistance of Japan, which would then have India and Africa at its mercy.

29. Count Okuma's overtures to "oppressed" India quoted.

30. East Africans' alternative policy—partition by continents.

30. Survey of World conditions. Enfeeblement of White races by war and corresponding invigoration of Asia.

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31. Choice lies between policy of inaction, with race war its inevitable end; and policy of action. Racial partition of world by continents suggested as a constructive policy. Precedents.

32. This would satisfy legitimate aspirations of both races.

32. Renunciations involved not intolerable.

33. Asia instead of following in wake of white pioneers will find sphere in Asia for her constructive powers.

34. Main results: (a) withdrawal of White political control of India; (b) security in Africa.

34—35. (a) *Withdrawal of control* in any case a matter of years only. Desirable from both altruistic and materialistic standpoints. Coercion not practical politics. No injury to trade relations anticipated.

36. Fallacy of "Dominion Status" as a solution.

37. Factors in the problem of India: independence or forcible control the only alternatives.

38. Colonies not directly affected unless Dominion Status proposed as a compromise.

38—39. Dominion status argued a fallacy, and specially repugnant to self-governing Dominions—Grave consequences of persisting in it.

39. (b) *Security in Africa* means freedom to fulfil our "Dual Mandate."

40—41. Its economic side: size, population and fertility. Potentialities under White settlement.

42. Racial settlement contrasted with political control. Progress made by Africans in contact with White settlement.

43. Discharge of Dual Mandate inconsistent with Indian claims.

44. Local reasons for resisting latter: baneful effects of Indian competition on African,

44—45. and on European if claims granted. Indian can underlive European.

45. But "Survival of the fittest" not synonymous with "survival of the best".

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46—47. Trade:—African trade more important to the United Kingdom than Indian.

47. Policy:—Unwisdom and dishonesty of abdication in Africa.

48. Solution of local Indian question simple apart from question of India's secession.

48. Local Indians secretly opposed to local Indian agitation, which is not spontaneous.

49. Refusal of Indian demands coupled with restricted immigration would be in interests of Indians remaining here. Unofficial majority (European) on Legislative Council a necessary safeguard to prevent recurrence of crisis.

49. Deliberate nature of colonists' determination. Kenya the only real danger spot in Africa.

50. KENYA THE THERMOPYLÆ OF AFRICA.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE "EAST AFRICAN STANDARD," LTD., NAIROBI, KENYA COLONY.